quantities of ducks and geese, and the inhabitants of the inland villages sometimes made hunting expeditions to the nesting places of wild fowl in the lakes of the interior uplands. Although numbers of birds were sometimes killed in this way, they were never a steady article of diet. The same is true of geese. Always plentiful, these birds were commonly killed, but never in large numbers.

The basis of the food supply was fish. The river teemed with salmon, which enabled the country to support its relatively large population. Spring, sockeye, humpback, dog, and coho salmon, all entered the river in thousands during the spring and summer, while the steelhead could be caught throughout the year. They were taken in weirs and their flesh cooked for winter use. Throughout the year, salmon was the principal article of diet. Second in importance was the eulachon, a fish somewhat resembling a herring, which entered the river in great numbers during April or May. They were taken in purse-like nets,[1] allowed to rot for ten days or two weeks, and then boiled. The grease was skimmed off and kept indefinitely to be used as a relish for other foods. It was always a sign of poverty if a person were obliged to use berries without eulachon grease. Trout and bullheads were found in the river, but were not sufficiently plentiful to be of importance.

Although no form of agriculture was practised, the Bella Coola used vegetable food to a considerable extent. Berries were abundant; roots were eaten raw, but many roots were pounded into a pulpy mass and dried in the sun. Cakes prepared in this way kept indefinitely and formed one of the regular winter foods. The bark of the hemlock and cottonwood was eaten, as well as the roots of many plants. In recent years many of these have not been used, so that an investigator is apt to overlook their great importance in early times. Although useless for food, the cedar was the most important of Bella Coola material cultures. From its trunk were split out, with wedges, the wide planks which formed

[1] See Appendix 2 for a description of eulachon fishing.

was probably deserted not many years ago. Probably a large town once it was a good fishing place.

(vii) *Tsuki*, "Bald Eagle": also on the north shore of the river, a little above the last-named. Probably washed away by a flood long ago, although traces of the salmon-weir were still visible recently.

(viii) *Pegikwate*, "The Place of Much *gleenite*" (the lava *Aplinium cellerense*): on the north side of the river about one mile above the preceding. This large town is believed to have been deserted long ago, though, in apparent contradiction, traces of it are said to be still visible.

"(ix) *Swaikil*, "The Place of Dog Salmon": on the south bank, above the last-named, at a place where a small stream enters the Salix Creek River, this divided the town into two sections. It was long deserted and the river has carried away that part of the village below the creek. The name is derived from an enormous dog salmon which is believed to have been seen at long intervals in a waterfall near this spot, always with a weir-weed perched on its back.

(x) *Ogwilkuna*: on the lower end of the island near Hagwilget, two miles, eleven miles from the mouth. Although long deserted, traces of this village are still to be seen. The meaning of the name is unknown.

"(xi) *Nadzik*, "The Place of the Whirlpool": on the south side of the river, eleven and a quarter miles from the sea. It was a village of moderate size, recently abandoned. The last occupant was said to have been *Gwenzik*, which means, "The Place of All."

"(xii) *Kuhs-ta-i*, "The Concave Town," so called because it spread around the shore of a bay scooped out by the Salix Creek: south side, slightly above the inflow of the Nadzikun River, thirteen and a quarter miles from the sea. It was deserted about 1880.

"(xiii) *Nadzikit*, "The Place of *Kjalmet*": on the north side of the river, opposite the mouth of the same name. It also was deserted about 1880. *Kjalmet* is a kind of moss-salm

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361 (91) *Kadis*, "Ocean Fish-Trap": on the east side of South Bentinck Arm, about a quarter of a mile from the *Nuit* River. It is doubtful whether this was a town, or merely a camping place of the people of *Nuit* when using their salmon-trap.

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"(92) *Nuit*: on a raised mound at the south side of the mouth of the *Nuit* River, which enters the head of South Bentinck Arm from the east. The meaning is unknown. This was a populous town until the inhabitants were decimated by an epidemic of smallpox.

[731] [64]

"(93) *Tal'as*: on the west side of the mouth of the river of the same name which flows into South Bentinck Arm from the south. The location of this village was commonly changed, owing to destructive variations in the course of the river. It was formerly a large town, and has been deserted only since 1900. This village had another name, *Tpewatlis*, "Facing," so called because its houses faced those of the town of *Nuit*.

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"(94) *Ai'ai*", "At the Head": at the head of South Bentinck Arm there is a bay running south-west, into the upper end of which a small stream empties. The trail leading to the lake at the head of Rivers Inlet follows this valley. *Ai'ai*" was located on this creek, at some little distance from the ocean; the name was derived from the geographical location of the town. It has not long been deserted and must have been a populous place to judge from the numerous repositories (II, p. 6).

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(95) *Kimquis*: on the east side of the mouth of a creek flowing into the bay at the head of South Bentinck Arm, from the south. This town was of moderate size. The meaning of the name is unknown. It is thought to be in the Rivers Inlet language.

VILLAGES AT KIMQUIS

[183] Two rivers, the Dean from the east, and the Kimquis from the north, flow into the head of Dean Channel, and the villages of this area can be grouped according to the two rivers.

[illegible] Boas E-1 (1922-1924)1948
NEA Bellacoola MSS

The religious concepts of the Bella Coola are not limited to explanations of strange apparitions, nor to knowledge of a wide range of supernatural beings, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Many in whom they believe are invisible and intangible, though none the less potent. Almost every incident of life is attributed to the help or hindrance of a supernatural agency. If a fisherman constructs a salmon-weir, with a considerable amount of work, the Bella Coola ascribe his success to the existence of some supernatural being or supernormal power; mere labour would never have sufficed. If a man has phenomenal success in hunting, it is because the supernatural has helped him in some way. It is not necessary that an anthropomorphic being should appear; they seldom do, but none deny that in some form or another supernatural aids have aided the enterprise.

This attitude is clearly evident in Bella Coola beliefs concerning the construction of canoes. Many professions depend upon prerogatives without which a person cannot hope to succeed. This is not true of canoe-makers, although it is a great advantage to one of them if *Talèlimut*, the Master Carpenter, appeared to his ancestors in the beginning of time. Even without this in many cases a man can succeed in making a canoe if he is aided by a supernatural teacher, or Model Maker. No one knows much about this being, not even whether there is more than one of them, but it is through his kindly intervention that a man is able to complete his complicated task. If carpenters who have left a half-finished canoe in the woods, hear adze blows, as they are returning to it, they remain away from the spot, knowing that their work is being done with superhuman efficiency by a supernatural artisan. Under such circumstances even a solitary man can construct one of the large, ocean-going canoes. About 1880 an expert carpenter, named Talèlin, was making

[illegible] that his mother had told him Wachowis came down the first three times he took me a young man. In 3 to confirm this statement he added the [illegible] detail that Wachowis, in this avatar he took, killed and ate a dog, and that he was given a [illegible] skin blanket.

L56 Boas 2-1 (1912-1924) 1948
NEB Bella Coola NEB

and leaps away apparently uninjured. The Bella Coola say that yearling goats have very strong spirits (I, p. 94) which make possible such actions.

Though generally callous with regard to the sufferings of animals, the Bella Coola are usually careful not to kill more than they need; and knowledge of the supernatural power possessed by animals sometimes leads men to treat them with great consideration. For example, if a bull-head is caught in an elachan set in the river, the fisherman throws it back into the water, saying:

"I have saved you; please do the same for me."

The following incident, believed without question by the Bella Coola, shows the manner in which bull-heads help those who have often befriended them. About 1880 a Kimsquit fisherman, *Hkakkō'i*, fell into a rapids where he was in great danger of drowning. A bull-head, seeing his plight and mindful of former help, increased his size and shoved *Hkakkō'i* ashore with its nose.

"I have saved you, mortal," said the bull-head, as he did so.

The ability to increase in size is not restricted to fish, but is shared by small mammals and reptiles. Lizards, for instance, four feet in length, are said to live permanently in a pond about seven miles below Kimsquit; they are termed *qwalk*.

Toads, too, can aid mortals. If a man see a snake devouring one of them he will, if he is wise, kill the snake and say to the toad:

"Please help me when I am in difficulties."

A toad never forgets its obligations and if that man should fall into a river when the toad is near, the latter will grow large enough to drag him forth.

Snakes are regarded with aversion and disgust. This may be in part due to the belief that they cook for *Hkūlo'qūlē* (I, p. 42), but more because these reptiles enter the stomachs of human beings. The Bella Coola believe that snakes are the offspring of a supernatural Mother of Snakes, a mythical being of dread powers. The following story illustrates their beliefs

1:34:Boas:Bella Coola E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NES Bellacoola NES

ago the tide came further up the rivers than at present and did not recede so far. This statement was made by an intelligent old man who said that the change had taken place during his own life-time.

One of Raven's most important alterations to *Áiyuxtém*'s intentions was with regard to the sexual act.

In the beginning of time, the organs of women were on the forehead, those of men on the palm of the hand, and intercourse was effected by a man rubbing his hand across a woman's brow. Raven feared that children would not result from this practice and accordingly altered the organs of both sexes to their present positions. In order to teach mankind the sexual act he then chose a woman and held intercourse with her, telling her that if the practice were carried out secretly and vigorously a child would be born. And nine months later the woman gave birth to an infant. Raven told the first inhabitants of the world that he wished them to have issue; they consequently held intercourse frequently and begat many children until their descendants filled the Bella Coola valley.

The attitude of the Bella Coola towards this story is identical with their beliefs concerning Raven as the cause of death. "Yes," they say, as they repeat the above story in answer to a question, "Raven taught our ancestors how to have children."

One side of their nature implicitly believes any story handed down from the distant past, but few today are sufficiently naïve actually to credit it. The more sophisticated frankly disbelieve, or pretend to do so. Doubt also exists with regard to Raven as originator of linguistic differences. The Bella Coola state that *Áiyuxtém* intended only one language for the whole world, but Raven thought that this would lead to trouble and used his power to teach the ancestors of every tribe their special speech.

Many inventions and beliefs are attributed to Raven without any accompanying myth. It is said that almost all geographical names are those bestowed by him on places reached in his travels. It was Raven who taught men how to bait hooks on long lines to catch black cod; it was Raven who first

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

773 829 have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

[181] As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

621 773 It is believed that each group of first people formed a village community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main [361] Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined. [226] Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According [591] to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When 773 a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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exactly what right the Bella Bella chief had to dispose of the land. The informant assumed that he must have been powerful enough to dictate to his followers, an unknown possibility in Bella Coola. However, the informant regards the case as typical of what would likely happen should a Bella Coola try to give away land. Out of generosity or gratitude old men have sometimes done so, but always they have forgotten someone, perhaps a mere infant, who on growing up lays claim to the *sol'olam*.

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Hunting-grounds are not the only valuable parts of the country. Even more important are stretches of river suitable for salmon-weirs. Of the same type are good places for olachen-nets, and rocks from which these fish can be caught with scoop-nets. Like hunting-grounds, these are said to have been pre-empted by the first people[1] and have passed into the ownership of the ancestral families descended from them. It is needless to repeat the gradual lapsing of rights to property of this kind in distant areas, since the principle is the same as that already described for land.

In one respect, salmon-weirs differ from hunting-areas, since the latter can be used by any number of individuals, whereas the number of salmon-traps possible at any one weir is limited. Again the mythological origin must be given to explain the customary usage. If, for example, a salmon-weir supposedly built by one of the first groups of people was fully manned in the third generation by ten individuals, it is as-

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[1]Several Bella Coola myths describe how the first-comers brought with them from above stone hammers for the construction of fish-dams, and how others were provided with miniature dams which grew larger when placed in position. Mr. H. I. Smith kindly gave the writer the following account, received from an elderly Bella Coola:

Long, long ago a certain *Tamaioe* lived with his father, the Sun, who decided to send his child to earth. He came down to *Stuie*, carrying a stone beneath his arm-pit, and accompanied by a Wolf. *Tamaioe* made the stone into a pile-driver with a face sculptured upon it, and with this tool drove piles to make a fish-weir. After a while a number of human beings came paddling up the Bella Coola River. In course of time the Wolf returned above, but *Tamaioe* remained on earth catching salmon, and teaching the people the method which was in use until the last few years.

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423 414 [773] [224] owned that ten is the largest number of traps possible at that weir. Those who have the right to that weir are the members of the ancestral family with the names of those first users. At this point the logic of the Bella Coola fails to uphold the mythological pattern. No salmon-weir has remained in existence since the beginning of time; when one broke, owners were sometimes infants, and those who repaired the break became regarded as the rightful possessors. The system of ownership prevailing at the time of abandoning the weirs, was that *individuals*, not groups, had rights to certain sections of the weir [428] which were willable like other personal property. In most [491] cases this right was transmitted with a name, marking the section of weir, which had to be duly validated by presents. [428] In other cases, the intangible ownership was willed without any mark whatever.* Unless bequeathed in this way, disputes were frequent. Rights of this kind were never sold although [421] an owner often leased his section for a night, or longer period, receiving goods in return, and not forfeiting his ownership [431] thereby. This was particularly common when the renter was planning to give a potlatch. No case was heard of in which the right to a certain section of salmon-weir was given to a non-member of the ancestral family. Theoretically, this was possible, but practically it would be so inconvenient that it is most unlikely ever to have occurred, since the Bella Coola is [671] never such a slave to legal privileges that he fails to be guided by common sense.

226 [423] Although individual ownership is thus recognized with regard to sections of salmon-weirs and suitable places for [577] [626] olachen-nets, the owner is bound to share his haul. When he catches a large number of fish, anyone, whether related to him or not, can demand some. He cannot refuse, since to do so would brand him as selfish. The effective check on this system

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*Great difficulty was experienced in learning about the distribution of rights to sections of salmon-weirs. The evidence is conflicting, and though every effort was made to verify and check the above, there may be further regulations which were not learnt.

lies in public opinion which expresses contempt for a lazy man who is constantly begging.

To anyone familiar with the definite social groupings of a tribe divided into clans or land-owning families, the ancestral family of the Bella Coola must appear as a vague and unreal unit, only distinguished by its incorporeality. So it was found when investigating in the field. When information began to accumulate, it seemed as if there must be some definite obligations incumbent upon all members of the ancestral family, but none could be found. Without asking a direct question, the point was raised whether, if a man were killed, the members of his ancestral family would unite to avenge him. Conversely, were they liable for the deeds of any member? In each case the reply was in the negative; these matters concern only the immediate family. In regulating marriage the ancestral family is important, since it is wise for a man or woman to seek his mate within the members of that group, though it is not compulsory. Theoretically, the terms of kinship applied to members of the immediate family may be extended to members of the ancestral family, but in practice this is rarely the case, and, if so, is functionless. It might be argued that this somewhat wide application of kinship terms, verging on the classificatory usage, is a relic of an earlier, and now broken-down, clan system. It is impossible to prove or to deny such a contention. When trying to discover whether the members of an ancestral family ever contributed to a potlatch whereby one of their fellows established himself as a chief, the following interesting comment was received. The previous winter the informant had been in Bella Bella, and there the point was raised by a Bella Bella chief whom he quoted as follows:

"We laugh at you Bella Coola because each of you is always trying to be chief. Our system is much better; we all help our chiefs."

The man agreed with the Bella Bella man that there was an important difference between the practices of the two tribes.

a seat, or square, with the prerogative of collecting obedience to river salmon. Ever since the owner of this canoe, when it has been duly baptized, has had the right to perform this function. In some cases, such as carpenters and singers, the exhibition of a prerogative has not brought with it the necessary ability, so that the incumbent remains a properly certified, but non-functioning, craftsman. No mechanical skill is required by a River Guardian, hence the owner of the canoe or square has always been able to perform his duties.

Even this immemorial canoe restrictions have been enforced concerning the river. No refuse may be thrown in, otherwise the shellers would remain in the ocean. For the same reason, women at certain periods are not allowed to bathe lest a speck of blood should blind the fish and prevent them from seeing the nets. Occasionally an oulachen with red eyes is caught; this is caused by some heedless woman. When the fish are running in the river, women are not allowed on the bank, nor to repair the nets. At high tide, it is forbidden to drive stakes for oulachen nets.

The number of prohibitions increases during the critical period of the salmon run. Then no freshly hewn planks can be set afloat, and even a canoe which has just been completed must be kept for ten days before launching. No one whose husband or wife has died within the last year can embark at the village, but must proceed to a landing-place at the head of the fiord. Most important of all, refuse of salmon must be deposited in the woods; if thrown into the river, the fish would smell it and avoid the stream. Even accidents such as the upsetting of a canoe, or the spilling of oulachen grease, are considered to be offences.

Disregard of any of these injunctions is displeasing to the salmon kind it is the duty of the River Guardian to punish the offender, irrespective of his rank. In case of slight infringements, he beats the guilty person or throws him into the river. The guilty person usually scrambles out, but should he be swept away and drowned, no recompense can be claimed by

performances of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be practised by everyone, since avarice is considered a major sin. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person summoned must take at least a bite to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host, while if he is hungry, he shows whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine* as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better than his guests. This custom is now rapidly falling into disuse through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting eulachon or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first collector is given one, later comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to swim in and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, and are advantageous investments since others must reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as

*This is a modern practice, dating from the introduction of house-locks.

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gan grow, and tied. After a week the lashing was removed and the knots untied the desired shape. By January all was ready, and the necessary job of fastening them to the line had been completed.

Sk!aqaut set out from his home with a number of companions to Labouchère Channel, where they sought for bait a large quantity of the small fry known as sardines, *Stelt!eldzaut*.[1] It was then evening and next morning the fishermen threw out the end line before eating. *Sk!aqaut* had good success, catching over a hundred fish at a single time, owing to the manner of hooks on his line. During the winter he lowered his line only once a day, but he fished steadily, drying his spoil at intervals, and when Yell came and he could make three hauls daily, he had caught an enormous quantity. All who saw his success were amazed, and many copied his method, since that time the use of hook and line for cod has been a common practice.

When Raven taught *Sk!aqaut* how to catch cod he also instructed his wife how to clean and prepare them in a certain manner and added that she must throw the entrails back into the ocean. The woman remembered the latter injunction, and her daughter regularly disposed of the entrails in this way, but they were careless in the manner of cutting the fish. *Xmayms*, chief of the supernatural beings dwelling beneath the ocean, knew of this and was angry at the insult offered to Black Cod. The underwater beings hunt on behalf of their master, so the latter sent the blackfish with instructions to seize *Sk!aqaut*'s daughter, a pretty girl named *Alkumka*. This is a Bella Bella word, which probably means "Very Good." The blackfish watched her come to the edge of the sea, waited until she had gone a short distance into the water, and then carried her off. Since she was below the age of puberty the supernatural fish had no fears in approaching her. To those on shore it appeared as if she had been devoured; in reality the blackfish bore her away to *Xmayms*'s house in their canoe, which, like that of the salmon, is invisible to mortal eyes. She found herself among many strange fish, and in the presence of the mighty *Xmayms*, who wore his usual broad-brimmed hat.

When those who had seen the kidnapping of *Alkumka* told *Sk!aqaut* and his wife, they grieved for their daughter as for one dead. In mourning, they stopped fishing and tore their hair. From afar Raven saw their grief and came to ask its cause.

"For some unknown reason I have lost my daughter," *Sk!aqaut* answered.

"I think it must be due to your having cut up Black Cod in some manner other than that in which I directed you," said Raven. "If you

[1] These are commonly used as bait; in fact, *Atkuut* means "bait."

a person has been in contact with supernatural beings or entitle him to crests.

Alkunko told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "as *Semaqmis* uses blackfish to teach me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish closely without severing the bones. *Sī'pauk*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent to a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that descended to *Semaqmis*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that they stomachs were often forced out from their mouths* and they floated up to the surface; of *Semaqmis* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the under-world. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Alkunko* had not been carried off to *Semaqmis*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

Not long after his daughter's safe return *Sī'pauk* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Semaqmis*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Semaqmis*, himself, was shown wearing his large hell topped hat, of the type known as *Sāqal*.**

While *Alkunko* was under the water *Semaqmis* had shown her sacred whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a sacred initiate.

This was the* origin of the *sacred* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *snimy* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Semaqmis* passed to one of *Sī'pauk*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

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*The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

**This style was always worn by *Semaqmis* and *Sāqamtin* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Semaqmis* or *Sāqamtin* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

*It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past. 787 *

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories: [825 794]

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qoo ahlaxwdjulaix*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has unknowingly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well. [777 224 222]

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources: [756]

(*a*) *Thlexpilits-a* or some other supernatural being.

(*b*) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural.

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence. [775] [777]

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when [756]

She assented to be a bona fide, but, when the city went out to investigate, her astonishment was past all bounds at seeing a fine house filled with valuables. Her joy her surprise knowed when she discovered that Tsimsiyi was fond of it all. He welcomed her gladly, gave her a hearty meal, and sent back with her some one for her child, with orders that it was to be taken secretly as he did not wish his father to know of his good fortune.

"But," he added, "I don't mind if you send me any of the people except my father, especially any who were good to me long ago."

The slave woman cheerfully carried the meat home to her child. But he, long deprived of proper food, ate so voraciously that right after a long snack to his throat and his coughing awoke Nomalis. The chief provided the youngster's lack until he vomited what was obviously a piece of eel. The slave woman, remembering Tsimsiyi's order, tried to evade her master's questions as to where her son had obtained it, but at last she blurted out the truth, how the abandoned youth had become prosperous.

The slave woman and her friends moved to Gwayai, where Tsimsiyi used his power of thought to obtain for them houses filled with everything they could desire. But Nomalis and those left with him were starving, so that they too were driven to seek his aid, gladly marrying their daughters to him in return for his protection. He rapidly rose to a position of importance, being the husband of both rich and illustrious wives, and was even able to provide his elder brothers with wives. Some of the women married to him became almost his slaves, as their families were unable to relieve them.

Supernatural Good Luck

A third manner in which the Bella Coola can come into contact with powers of another plane is through supernatural good luck. This consists in obtaining something from a supernatural being, usually a portion of its slain body, which acts as a bait to fish, mammals, and even to such inanimate articles as blankets or skins. Even a tiny morsel placed on a weir will attract numerous salmon, or if set on a trap will prove an infallible lure to animals. When put in the owner's box, valuables will be attracted to it as steel to a magnet. Thus the fortunate possessor will be able to give many potlatches and to reach a high position in the community. Since this good fortune is

father. But the great-grandson was too keen to miss the trouble of going with his father to the place where the secret of the bird was hidden, so the canoes was lost.

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the mythical creatures termed *ewap*. This variety lives in the ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen moving on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the water. The hair appears always to be flecked with sunlight, but in reality it is a mass of luminosity, the equivalent of this reference to the under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can sever a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, where he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year. After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon to his weir, exactly as with the souvenir goat grease concoction of a *gukdzi* or a stick that has come in contact with a giant toad. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea.

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kincquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *ewap*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was nearest the canoe so the opportunity seemed favourable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the steersman feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

so that no floating leaves remained between them and its head. As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a floating mat, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the panthers strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by this continuous slow turning, until at last they went on their way, disappointed.

The another creature from which supernatural good fortune has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

A family living at Shalkan was reduced to the point of starvation through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided it. One day a son of one of the sisters, who had been in trouble with a woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was tipped with silver and that its tongue kept shooting far beyond its jaws; hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is always the size of the former, whilst appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the beast's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once sunwise, and pulled away one of the jagged spikes. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and as it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

[illegible] Seventh [illegible]-9 (1952-1954)/948
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"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son. [777] [787]

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said:

"You were right," and he told him what had happened. [538]

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply. [23]

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and hooks to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Salmon. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Skwundi'do'a*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwundi'do'a* is considered an omen of death. [776] [763]

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some- [825] [224]

[1] Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

over, and concluded that he had acquired the vigour which she had vowed to impart to him. So she told him simply to come in and swim with them, and again dived back to resume her play with her cubs. After watching the four throwing the stones to and fro, Qwinas dived in, joined their sport, and threw the boulders over as far as they were able for he had acquired the power of a bear. The five left the pool together and when the animals had resumed their form they gave Qwinas a bear blanket. On donning this he, too, became a grizzly bear.

"Now," said the mother bear, "you can go home and take revenge on the murderers of your father. Only remember, you must not do so, or show your strength, for one year. Your name is now *Nimaelle* [a word derived from *nim*, a grizzly bear]. Henceforth I and my cubs will be your friends and will be at hand to help you if you ever need us."

The four bears accompanied Qwinas towards his home, all travelling rapidly in bear form. Near his aunt's house he took off his blanket and carefully hung it up in a secure place; this restored him to human form and he went home, while his bear friends went off into the woods. Qwinas thought that he had been absent only a single day, but when he came to the village he found that it was autumn, although the olachen had been running when he went away. This was because he had been in the land of supernatural beings where one day is the equivalent of a year among mortals. He went to his aunt's door in the twilight. The old woman, who had concluded that her nephew was long dead, was delighted at seeing him return not only alive but appearing strong and well. She had very little food but she gave him the best available.

Obedient to the instructions given him by the mother bear, Qwinas did not immediately take his revenge. All winter he remained almost secluded in his aunt's house, but when spring came and the olachen were running, he paddled down in a river canoe to his father's fishing-ground where the four murderers had built four olachen-traps with firm interwoven branches, capable of resisting any flood. In the canoe with Qwinas was a mere child to whom he had given the nominal place as captain in the stern, while he himself paded in the bow. He guided his canoe against one of the weirs which broke before the impact as if it had been made of twigs, then, in succession he destroyed the three others in like fashion. Next Qwinas began to make four olachen-weirs for himself. Under normal circumstances the construction of one is a long and laborious task, requiring the pounding in of heavy stakes with mallets, but Qwinas, endowed as he was with the strength of a grizzly bear, merely shoved in the posts without effort. As he was working, the four murderers came up, very angry at the destruction of their weirs. One of them struck a savage blow at the destroyer with a stake, but Qwinas merely caught it with one [226]

phases of activity, leaving here only certain rules about diet and a number of prohibitions which hunters must observe.

TABOOS OBSERVED BY WOMEN

Women must not eat bear meat. To do so would disarrange the ceremonia and cause profuse growth of hair.

Women of child-bearing age must not eat beaver. To do so would cause a difficult delivery.

A woman of child-bearing age must not eat roasted salmon until the sticks have been removed which hold it in front of the fire. She will bear twins if this injunction is disregarded.

TABOOS OBSERVED BY HUNTERS

No hunter or fisherman may leave the village in the morning if he has been foolish enough to break the night's fast. It is customary to depart at dawn and take a small meal when nearing the hunting or fishing-ground.

No hunter may drink water in which dog salmon have been soaked. Animals dislike this liquid and avoid a man with it in his stomach.

When traps have been set, and a party of hunters is sitting around the camp-fire in the evening, no one must pass between it and one of his fellows. If this should be done, heedlessly, animals would disregard the bait that has been set out.

When mountain goat hunters are travelling, the most expert must lead the party. When he sits down, so must the others, and no one can change places with him. This is said to be a custom of the Carriers as well as of the Bella Coola.

When a hunter is cutting up a bear, he must be careful not to cut a vein which is said to run across the chest and down each fore-paw. To do so causes sickness.

When a hunter kills a bear, he must place either the skull or the whole head in a tree near the scene of the kill, otherwise he will become blind. In some families, the men remove only an eye, place it in a notched stick and set this under an over-

hanging rock where no rain can penetrate. Long ago, some hunter failed to do this and became blind in consequence, hence the rite has since been carried out.

When a hunter is in the field, his wife must not swing. To do this causes him to go up into lofty and dangerous places as she rises on the swing, and also destroys the power laboriously accumulated by ceremonial chastity.

Ritual Acts

Communism is an extremely important aspect of Bella Coola life, but most of their rites are social or religious rather than magical, so that descriptions of them belong to other chapters. In connection with the taking of the first olachen and salmon, however, a number of ritual acts are performed to bring about desired ends; the element of propitiation is not entirely absent, but on the whole they may be considered as magical.

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST OLACHEN

At the height of the olachen run, the fish are so abundant that they can be taken profitably in large purse-nets. They do not, however, come simultaneously, and eager fishermen keep watching for their arrival and catching the straggling forerunners in hand dip-nets. These fish must not be eaten immediately. Each fisherman arranges a box in the front part of his house in which he deposits them as taken; if several men are doing this in a single dwelling, one box for each will be arranged near the front-door. Whenever a dance is held, eagle down is blown over the receptacle to placate the olachen and prevent them from being disturbed by the noise. As soon as a man has caught enough for a feast, he invites all his fellows to his house and the fish are distributed. It is taboo for any woman to share this meal, and it is most improper for a man to summon his neighbours until he has enough olachen to allow each guest to carry home a plentiful supply for his family. In former times, there used to be a number of meals of this kind,

226 796 574 [865]

...since each fisherman provided one when his turn was due.

No one is allowed to drink water immediately after eating the first oolachen of the spring, since to do so would cause a flood. It is considered most improper for a child to eat any other part of this fish; if he does so, he is punished by having nettles stuffed into his mouth. As already described, if a person dies before the first fish have passed through his bowels, a shaman must wipe his lips with cedar-bark.

226 [562]

After the first meal of oolachen, orders for the rest are given, and the restrictions become less exacting. Women are not allowed to assist in fishing, but the men devote themselves to the task, working with zest and energy.[1] An abundant supply of oolachen is a source of joy, and all listen eagerly for the singing of the thrush, *cucumcumth*, which signifies that the nets are full to bursting. Half jocularly, people invite the bird to come and eat, but his modesty is compared to

[825]

"I shall eat when the river is full."

RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FIRST SPRING SALMON

226 796 [262]

Salmon is the most important article of Bella Coola diet, and the rites which accompany the earliest taking of this fish are relatively complicated.

When the first spring salmon have been caught, they are laid in the canoe with their heads all pointing eastward—upstream. The fisherman pulls to shore, but instead of landing his catch, he fastens the salmon to a stake driven at the edge of the bank so that they remain in the water. A number of posts are usually placed in readiness, each decorated with alternate spirals of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and crowned with an eagle's tail. Each day one or two more fish may be caught, but all are left in the water until the first have become soft, thus giving sufficient time for the necessary preparations on shore. It is the duty of every owner of a salmon-weir to build near its end a so-called Spring Salmon House, a shake

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[1] For a description of oolachen fishing, see Appendix A.
[2] Cf. Boas, p. 74.

Library of the American Museum of Natural History
Bella Coola Expedition, 1922-1924 [1948]
AMNH Bella Coola Collection

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structure with a roof but without side walls. To this the successful fisherman brings long strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, eagle down, and spoons made of maple-bark; in this task he is assisted by his relatives as well as by anyone else willing to help.

When all has been prepared, the fisherman asks the men of the village to gather on the bank to assist him. No one is compelled to do so, but in actual fact everyone is glad to be present unless prevented by some valid reason. A friend takes a canoe pole and points at the head of the first salmon, while all call in unison, *xak'loi*, a word for which no meaning is known, and which is said to have been used unintelligibly for many generations. If he is standing on the south bank of the stream, the fisherman passes his left hand outside his right, seizes the fish behind the neck with the former, and by the tail with the latter; then he turns around sunwise, uncrossing his arms, so that his catch is still pointing upstream. If the village is on the north side of the river, the position of the hands is reversed. He carries the salmon to the Spring Salmon House and places it on a layer of fresh cottonwood and willow leaves spread over the ground. A young assistant, who is decorated with bands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, lifts from his left arm one of a number of two-foot strips of the same material carried there and lays it over the salmon's head so that part of the string is within its mouth. As he does this he says:

Ɬpāxɛllai, qāmxāmilao,[1] "Accept, O Salmon."

Qāmxāmila is not the usual word for salmon, but signifies rather, "Food"; it is the designation used by supernatural beings for these fish and is hence applied by *smnɂq* to their prey, human beings.

After this has been done, eagle down is blown over the fish. A second salmon is likewise taken from the river, with the same cry of *xak'loi*, laid with its head on its predecessor's tail, and the same rite carried out. This is repeated till all are arranged in line, with their heads pointing upstream. The

[1] The vocative form of the word.

b:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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women listening from the village are able to tell how many have been caught from the number of times the cry *sul'hi* is raised. 226 796

Then the salmon are cut up (only shell knives may be used for the purpose) and cooked. Everything must be used, heads, bones, and entrails, the only refuse being the blood which is scraped from the leaves and carried into the woods. The leaves themselves, and the strings of dyed and undyed cedar-bark are thrown into the river in accordance with a desire expressed by *Nusk!umx* long ago. When everything is ready for a meal, the men take their places in two rows, facing each other across a coarse bark mat. Bark spoons have been provided, and when the heralds call for food, the fisherman brings the heads of the salmon and the guests make the motions of eating, though in reality these parts are dried and kept for winter. Bones containing a liberal portion of the choice meat are next served and all eat freely. Each guest puts on one side what he has not consumed as if to carry it away, as is the custom at an ordinary feast, though his share is really left in the shelter until the following day. Finally, a third course is provided, the back of the fish cooked with the bone in position. Like the last, the guests eat as much as they desire and pack up the residue as if to take away. Then they leave the Spring Salmon House. [412] 226 796 574 [251]

All the fish are not cooked on the one occasion. The following day the fisherman again calls back the men of his village. The same type of meal is served, but this time the guests carry away what they do not eat for the benefit of their families. This portion may be eaten by the women without affronting the salmon. [562]

This rite has not been performed in full detail in Bella Coola for many years, and it was impossible to collect information on some points. It is uncertain, for example, whether this ceremony was carried out by every fisherman or whether there used to be certain individuals with the prerogative of dealing with the first catch. The latter appears to be the most logical 226 796 424

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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manner, and was definitely stated to be the case by one well-informed old man. It is clear, however, that every spring salmon was landed with the cry of *xaĺ'lai·*, taken to the Spring Salmon House, and cut up by the men until the time when women were allowed near the river. Another old man stated that the feast took place at night and that only the heads and refuse of the first catch were eaten, the remainder being dried for the winter. Women of child-bearing age were not allowed on the river bank, and were rigorously excluded from the Spring Salmon House until the time when the sun's shadow reached a diagonal scar on the slope of one of the mountains on the north side of North Bentinck Arm. This occurs about August. From that time onwards, there was no calling of *xaĺ'lai·*, and women, except those who were taboo, could cut salmon freely on the bank. It was even stated that refuse of salmon could be thrown into the river after that time. No one knows the origin of this seasonal prohibition, or why it should end when the sun reaches a certain point, but it was faithfully observed in former times.

In Kimsquit similar rites were carried out, the chief variation being that the bodies of four swans were placed in the Spring Salmon House and the fish laid with these at intervals in the line. Moreover, the youth used to bite the back of each salmon as he presented it with the cedar-bark streamer. The same regulations with regard to drinking water, and crying after eating, were enforced for spring salmon as for olachen.

Miscellaneous Beliefs

The following miscellaneous beliefs and customs cannot be assigned to any special aspect of Bella Coola life:

If a spark from a fire jumps out and lights on a person's hand, it is said:

"The fire wants to give you [the person on whom the brand has fallen] food."

If a man sneezes repeatedly, it is said:

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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natural, any of them can act in this capacity, though it is usually added that the animal in question is the one resident in the land above. One patron of this type is the ordinary river bull-head. It is said that long ago this fish wanted to follow his friends, the salmon, to the ocean, but was persuaded to remain in the river to act as nurse to their children in his house, the river bottom. Early in the world's history he objected to people exposing his dwelling, that is, pulling up the stones from the river-bed where he was wont to lie, and showed his resentment by sending a very cold wind. Ever since that time boys are not allowed to fish for bull-heads in winter. As far as could be learnt, this dance has no special features.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL HERRING-HEAD

One of the supernatural beings living in the land above who is patron for a certain *kusiut* is the head of a female herring. Little is known of this being, even her appearance is subject to doubt. For the *nekusam* of her protégé, a number of masks representing herring, as well as human-like beings, are prepared. When the uninitiated are present, one of the disguised figures calls to his fellows to bring their nets and capture the fish.

THE DANCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL DOG SALMON

Another fish dwelling in the land above is *Dakdakānas*, the supernatural dog salmon. He is patron of some *kusiut* but the ritual of the dance, known as *ernārmanaix*, was not obtained. The similarity between *Dakdakānas* and *Dakdakānmem*, those who await *Nekēpnim*, appears merely to be an accidental resemblance in terminology, dependent upon a stem meaning "to come," or "coming." The significance of this in connection with the supernatural dog salmon could not be ascertained.

THE DANCE OF *Almoqhaiklis*

In Kimsquit it is believed that *Ana'lēkwelsais* has a husband, *Almoqhaiklis*, who is patron for several *kusiut* dancers. His function is to restore to life any uninitiated who chance to

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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C *Wastē'ōmaxtsalis* | *yau Ḳāḳawaḳlīlaxdē* | *ḳāḳāwaxsdzē'ē* 593 P
I gazed upon | what gave me power as a shaman(f) | when it stood up 756

xaxtc-amaxa-a'ts-axs
in the centre of a place of petrified power(g).

(a) This was the woman's *haxus* designation; her shaman's name has been forgotten. [551]
(b) Recorded as song VII D 16, National Museum of Canada; quartet, Reuben Schooner, leader, Jim Pollard, prompter and announcer, assisted by *Tal'is* Charlie and Steamboat Admis.
(c) That is: The sky moved up and down. Grandiloquent phrases of this kind are frequent in songs used by shamans. [195]
(d) Refers to the supernatural beings.
(e) *Ḳāmaxsdzīlis* is said to be the word for salmon in the language of the supernatural beings; it is used by mortals in the rites following the taking of the first spring salmon. The shaman has received some of her power from a fish. [198] [226]
(f) Refers to the supernatural beings.
(g) Reference to the wash-basin shows that the shaman had power to heal the sick.
(h) The meaning is obscure. Apparently the shaman had been carried away by *Tsīxpēlīlaxa* and treated by immersion in a basin in which eagle down was deposited.
(i) This refers to the supernatural being, *Ḥaxaminkum*, who causes to life mortals killed by the receipt of too much power from *Tsīxpēlīlaxa*. It is clear that this fact befell the shaman. [776]
(j) The woman is said to have received power from several sources, salmon, ghosts, and *Tsīxpēlīlaxa* herself. It is impossible to state which of her supernatural patrons is referred to in this subdivision.
(k) The woman must have been taken to one of the spots where cures could be effected by the power of a supernatural being petrified there. [755]

[551] [776]

Song Used by Nuxalk makusis(a), a Kwaqsis Man(b)

A *Ḥaxaqwaxsnaxsdē* | *nax-tsēlāxwaxsdē* | *xēlaxtsēsē*
Look at the teeming supernatural beings above(c), not one is | wise one(c)!
my equal(d),

[woooooo cooooo]

B *Ḥaxāḳāyāxtsa(yaxs)xsdē* | *stsēxyaxtsaxsdzaxsdē* | *xēlaxtsēsē*
You must sometimes waken at night to meditate on what I am | wise one!
bringing your mouth(f),

[woooooo cooooo]

C *Ḳaxaxyāxsdzēdē* | *stsēxsdzāxsdzaxsdzē* | *xēlaxtsēsē*
You must sometimes use your wash-basin(g), | wise one!

[woooooo cooooo]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

$ 533 *Ha* | *tsiljut* | *ahhiaiam*
Come(c), | let us lie down together | not far away.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 33b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This is the type of song sung by a group of women on a picnic.
(b) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these three subdivisions.
(c) This is addressed to another man.

Women's Love Song(a)

Kwmtlilsdjain | *dzyaksmcyaxulsi* | *yas ahlawaix* | *ayaqulsut*
I do not want him | to lie down with me | that slave | Xulsut(b).

Aytacytlqaxwwa | *gtaxyam thaw a,* | *hsljaiwaxsa'*
Don't go too far down(c) | or you will be unable to stop delouring(d).

Hwaxiwaxlsip | *ciyadjiwaldjiwa* | *chi wapaiqaiwa'*
I want to sleep, | I dream of you(c), | how disconsolate I am!

(a) Recorded as song VII D 38c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
[578] (b) Xulsut was a man who specialized in composing songs that mocked women, hence the singer used his name in this derogatory manner in retaliation.
(c) The implication is that her lover had been fondling her face, and that she did not wish him to touch her body. The three parts of this song have no apparent relationship to one another.
(d) It was impossible to obtain individual translations for these two subdivisions. The introduction of the obscene expression is unexplained.
(e) Referring to her lover.

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ANIMAL SONGS

Fishing Song(a)

This song is sung by boys as they cast for trout.

Wahaiyaia ai, | *waxtwalwaix* | *waxtwalwaix*
Come sliding, trout(b), | I want to triumph, | I want to triumph,

yas tilyaxlstaxas | *thaiyaia!*
over you biggest | trout.

Hhaiyaia! | *ahhaiyaia!*
I fish for trout, | I fish for trout.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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Nuhlhlfwaqotsmkx	*oldizstcntcnki*	*oldizstcntcnki*
Swallow right down(*c*),	to your very tail,	to your very tail;

dmqstmwakalulan-itlaix
why you cannot even break one of our hairs(*d*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 9a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Louie Hall.
(*b*) The vocative form is used.
(*c*) That is: Swallow the bait.
(*d*) A reference to the use of human hairs for fishlines. The lad is, of course, trying to "dare" the fish.

Fishing Song(a)

This is a song sung by lads as they splash in the water after minnows, trying to drive them ashore.

Waksdimān·u	*Waksdimān·u*
Who is your father?	Who is your father?

Qualaiyultnk	*dimān·u*	*qualaiyultnk*	*dimān·u*
"Rotten stomach"(*b*)	is your father;	"Rotten stomach"	is your father.

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 26b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) It is uncertain whether this refers to any particular kind of fish, or is merely a general term of opprobium.

Song Sung to a Cormorant(a)

533*
825

When a cormorant is seen near a canoe, the paddlers often sing the following song. The bird, delighted, is said to come near and dance around the craft.

Qānāxomāks	*dallopān·idax*	*qānāxomāks*	*dalsitaowidax*
Dance,	cormorant,	dance,	cormorant(*b*).

Nustsaik
Take the breast(*c*).

(*a*) Recorded as song VII D 34c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(*b*) This is the Bella Bella word for cormorant.
(*c*) The singer insisted on inserting this refrain after the song. It is really a lullaby and it is doubtful whether it normally accompanies the cormorant song.

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*539 [224] a large cave in the vicinity where the hunters smoked the meat and boiled down the grease and marrow, but they had killed so many that it was January before their task was completed. Meanwhile the smell of flesh had attracted a number of martens which were caught in snares; in fact, they captured enough for two blanket-robes. When ready to leave for home, they prepared snow-shoes and on these safely negotiated the deep drifts and reached the village where all hope of their safety had long been abandoned. *Sānuxmāxəts* arrived at dusk and heard his parents weeping and wailing; he asked who had died and found that they were mourning for him. His safe return turned their lamentations into rejoicings and a herald was sent out to call in the villagers to share the good news. When finally packed in, there was enough goat meat for an elaborate potlatch."[1]

● [226] A year or two later, four men prepared to set out one afternoon to fish for trout. As they were leaving, *Sānuxmāxəts*'s young son begged to be taken along and cried so piteously that they at last consented. So they wrapped him carefully in a goat-skin blanket, and placed him in the bottom of the canoe which they paddled about six miles upstream. They landed on the bank, cooked a meal, and dried black spruce branches over [226] the fire to serve as torches to lure the fish within range of their spears. When night had fallen, they began to drift downstream, one man holding aloft a brand while the others speared. They had fair success, but nothing noteworthy occurred until, as they neared *Nuxəlst*, they saw white on the water, and paddled slowly forward, thinking it must be a huge flock of swans. As they drew nearer they saw that it was snow; a huge slide had swept over the village and blocked the channel of the river. The water, no longer able to flow westward, was swirling back to the east, and the fishermen drifted with it until they found a place to camp for the night with their young companion.

As soon as it was light, they returned to the scene of the disaster and found a deep bed of snow over the site of the village. They landed to investigate, and called repeatedly, hoping that some at least had escaped. At last they heard an answer and began to dig, imagining that it must be *Sānuxmāxəts* himself. After excavating a deep hole, they unburied the sole survivor, a slave who had escaped by covering with a copper the

[1] It will be noticed that there are many points of similarity between this story and the one in vol. II, p. 512. It is possible that they are versions of the same account, but it seems more likely that they refer to different incidents of which the principal character of one has been forgotten. In such cases the Bella Coola, believing that individuals with the same name often have the same characteristics, frequently give to the hero of an earlier incident the name of a person who has figured in a similar one within recent years. [538] [551]

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to the aesthetic, their skill in dancing and dramatics is noteworthy: no one who has witnessed a native dance can fail to have been impressed by the performance of the participants and the stage-craft of the carpenters. The fact that no system of writing had ever been devised has prevented the establishment of a native literature, but the practice of passing down an extensive folklore by word of mouth shows their narrative powers as well as their faculty for remembering details. At present it is difficult to appreciate what must have been their energy in earlier times when they faced the struggle for existence, armed with stone tools. Abundant salmon gave them adequate food, but only when weirs had been built with great labour. Though game was plentiful, the hunter was equipped with nothing more formidable than a bow and arrow. The simplest task required patience and skill undreamed of by the average white man. If the reader will allow his imagination to carry him backwards two hundred years, he will realize that the mere provision of food and clothing necessitated constant effort and ceaseless exertion.

Hand in hand with many admirable characteristics, the Bella Coola display others which strike the white man as unprepossessing. A first impression is the untidiness of their houses. Exteriorly, they are often fairly neat, but confusion reigns within. Clothing, instead of being hung up, is left lying on the floor; bed-coverings are piled carelessly; dirty dishes cover the tables; dogs and children swarm over the floor; flies abound; all is dirty and slovenly. The house itself may be uncompleted; a window lacks glass and has been boarded up; the roof leaks, or the steps are falling down. Nor are the surroundings more attractive. There is one struggling flower-bed in the village, but elsewhere the houses are surrounded by wastes of mud where horses and cattle wander, dogs prowl, and children play. In the distance the mountain peaks rise in splendour, but near at hand all is squalid and unkempt.

They are only slightly more particular about their personal appearance. Dirt does not distress them. They wash occa-

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APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described.

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

The run of olachen, *spaty*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ălx'x°*, are brought out from the boxes where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lxna.*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping.

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *skłăs*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *ălkăjălos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *lixwoma*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within

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about a foot of the surface. In the same slow manner a second stake is driven in, about ten feet from the first, and in such a position that the main force of the current would strike at right angles a line drawn between the two. Then two more stakes are placed in position, slightly below the first pair, and nearer together, as shown in the diagram (Figure 3). The posts are often driven before the main run of the fish, and the fixing of the net delayed until that time. It is fastened to the four stakes, with its open end, which faces upstream, forming a rough oval, ten feet wide, of which the lower side rests on the bottom and the upper is at the surface. The outer stakes hold the upper edge, the inner ones secure the lower brim. The olachen are slow-swimming fish which work their way upstream with the rising tide, and, when it turns, drift back into the net. Once within the opening, they lack strength to drive forward against current and tide, and are forced into the closed bottom, floating downstream, in thousands. At the peak of the season, a net is often extended to its full dimensions with a solid mass of fish, throwing a tremendous strain on supports and mesh-work alike. During the day, the mouth is closed with a cross-piece, *nastnaatsa*, to prevent floating objects from drifting within and damaging it, and opened during the night at whatever hour the tide turns.

FIG. 3. Diagram showing position of the stakes supporting an olachen net.

Early in the morning begins the landing of the fish. The partners paddle out to the bottom of their net and, with considerable exertion, lift it into the canoe. A cord is tied around the bellied mass, cutting off a section, and the end is opened so that the fish from it fall into the bottom of the craft. Another part is dealt with in the same manner, then a third, and so in succession until the gleaming olachen are piled so deeply that no more can be loaded with safety. Sometimes two or three loads, each of many thousands, are taken from a single net. The partners slowly pole to shore where, at the present time, their wives and children wait to unload the canoe. The fish are packed into baskets, carried on the back with the aid of a tump-line, and taken to pits which have been prepared ten to fifteen feet from the bank. These are three or four feet deep, lined with planks, and with their bottoms covered with evergreen boughs. The olachen are emptied into these holes, which are covered with more planks when full. If more fish are landed than can be handled conveniently in this manner, they are laid on branches spread on the ground, and a low wall of planks built up around them. Although the main run lasts for only three or four days, the olachen are so numerous that each group of partners is able to fill several of these storage pits.

Though most of the catch is thus disposed of, there is always enough

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Alcimta·a, "Left Foot": *Stmx* repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Alpimlain: Kimsquit hunter living in the last century.

[825] *alpmaił*: Dentalium-shell.

alpmaił'aa, "Not Finished": Said concerning a *kusiut* who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[292] [881] *alpmaus*: Skull cap of grass and dentalium-shells worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

alpmels: Guest, especially from afar, to a *kusiut* dance.

Alpmelsmaem: 1—Supernatural herald.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Mystery dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a *kusiut* dance.

alpmḥeis, "A Surpassing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[576] [601] *amax*: Place of concealment of a Mystery dancer's power.

a'maxalaxłs: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

[415] *amaxas*: Rightful location, especially the validated position of a chief in a house.

amaxłis: Dishes carved with ancestral crest.

amḥḥis: 1—Mouse.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at *Sathla*.

[825] *amł*: Spring salmon.

amłx: Spring salmon house.

Amłxłlis: Professional name of a *kusiut* marshal.

Amxłlis: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

amłqmḥaem: 1—The allotment of work to *kukusiut* in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a *kusiut* dance.

Amłxudzemxłmis, "The Resident Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at *Snuisli*.

[575] *amnuxłs or nimuxłs*: That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a *kusiut* ritual.

amnxłpał: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] *amxemłał*: Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

Amłxnaxis, "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

Amłxstałis: Cave near Dean Channel.

Amłxqmdimaxł, "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of *Hitsaplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Amx'Ilaxłałis: Supernatural woman who guards repositories.

Amxłłałaxłs: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to suck forth sickness): One of *Hitsaplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[752] [823] *amxnas*: Swift running water.

amḥmaxmaxsim: 1—Ranks of ordinary inidviduals; this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the *nusuk* society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

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Anudakanuts: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit woman.

anukaldimut, "This Is to Make Straight Your Road": Said when a call is returned, or food thrown upon a fire for the dead.

Ănukae-lst, "Place of Big Stones in the River": Village at Kwatna.

Anukalulslaix: Woman immolated in a repository and hence become supernatural.

anukihlt'ɔ: Rainbow-coloured nose-ring worn by Death.

Anukiqaksaix: Supernatural name of Hawk. [825]

anukitnk': Short cord by which the fungus is held during the *kanan·i* dance.

Anukkalnam: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

Anukpɔnaix, "The One that Fills the Rivers": Supernatural name of hump-back salmon.

anulkstl: Nose-ring. [301]

anulnank: Mourning song composed for a chief and, apparently, the singing of one. [533]

Ănulxwam: Place on the north-west side of Dean Channel, about nine miles from its head, where curative power is petrified. [778]

Anumnitkmm: Supernatural beings who remind the supreme god of his *kusiut* duties.

Ănunitsktmm: Supernatural being who restores those killed by the receipt of too much power from *Tlitcaplilan·a.*

anunuqum: Meeting of chiefs, *archaic.*

anuonal: Person who catches early olachen in a hand-net. [226]

anuposɔam: Buoyant stones such as are found in a lake near the headwaters of the Bella Coola. [823]

Anuputsndilk: Supernatural being who regulates the height of tides in rivers.

anuqpatlnam: To await, especially a supernatural being.

Anuqpmlaix: Son of the first settlers at *Sătlia.*

Anuqpialaix, "What Fills People": Name created by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time with reference to his stores of salmon.

anuqunuxam: Silent waiting in darkness before a *kusiutem* dance.

Anuqwntnikmm: Supernatural being who gives inspiration.

Anusaikaiutslaix: 1—Supernatural name of *nsiutl.*
2—Method of killing practised by *nsiutl.*

Anusaiksaixsaix·als: Name of a Bella Coola shaman.

Anu·shustalnam: Name of a Kimsquit woman.

anunka'alxakmus: The rare prerogative of changing from *kusiut* to *nsaok* rites on alternate nights. [424]

Ănuskiskmm, "The Saviour": One of *Tlitcaplilan·a*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ănuskumalm: One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.

anuskamnux: Peculiar cry uttered by a *kusiut* scratcher.

Anuspunn·aix: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

Anusy: Place on north side of North Bentinck Arm, about one-quarter mile from its head.

anuspaiutsaix, "The Left Side," in the language of ghosts: Identical with *ixlanuk*, q.v. [198]

Ănusyalaix: One of the first women to settle at *Sliskiul* in the beginning of time.

Anuterhlamdimut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

anutsa: 1—Excavated house furnished with stepped platforms for guests.
2—Village at Kwatna. [342]

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ɛɛɣɛa or *ɛɛɣɛál·i:* Medicine; generic term for all remedies of a magical or medicinal nature. [278]

e·m: Coitus, term in common usage.

emɛ: Nephew or niece. [601]

ɛ

ɛlmals: Ancestral name of a *Snaïlɛ·il* man.

'ɛnɛlalan·a: Daughter of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time.

ɛnɛlatlaikila: Moon, semi-anthropomorphized.

H

hai·shkila: 1—Bella Bella term, commonly used in Bella Coola, for *ɛɛaɛk* official
2—*Kɛɛiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

haidal: Type of sea-going canoe used by the Haida; the word may be a corruption from English.

Hai·k·kɛla: Man who descended to the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.

Han·o: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

haokao: Mythical, supernatural bird. [825]

Hamɛɛt: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxwalɛt* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Qwiyai* in the beginning of time.

hɛli: Penis.

hɛiɛ: Call used by members of the *hɛɛiut* society to strengthen their fellow-members.

I

ikw': Pounded cedar-bark, undyed. [824]

ilaix: Zigzag course up or down a mountain slope.

Ilaiyal: *Twalalil'*s dog.

Ilihmai·x: One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.

ildustas dia sxim: Bandage of undyed cedar-bark placed around an infant's head to produce cranial deformation. [856]

ildutsam, Bandages: Term applied to presents distributed as validation for the bitings of a self-Cannibal. [431]

ilk: One of the *fritillariae.*

imalkndjutqulsan: Abbreviated rite of *Nɛɛkymm* dance.

imants: Nest.

I'mazilak: *Sɛɛaɛk* name of a Kimsquit man.

Imimatlnaix, "The Moorer": Male supernatural child who fastens *Nɛɛkymm*'s craft.

ipamap, "Hold Him Down": Cry used in Cannibal dances.

ipamllai, "Accept": Said to spring salmon during the ritual connected with the first taking of these fish. [226]

ipkɛxɛtmam: Alleged singing of a *sɛɛaɛk* initiate's song by the supernatural being, *Matlakila.*

ipo'lo·mm: Reduction of the value of an investment-present by immediate return of part of it. [426]

i·pis: Moss. [824]

imɛlnɛɛtamkdim: Polyandry.

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hulhtmut: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431] [584]

Kulelhtamidjut: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above.

humai·t: Good-bye. [576]

Kumtmilhstas, "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *Wiwaina.*

huxiatem: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *huxiat* dances.

huxie·tem: Said to be identical with *nilshmaltz,* the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [752]

huxiut: plural, hukuxiut; vocative, huxiaut; vocative plural, hukuxiaut:
1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]
2—Member of the society.
3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [756]

Kuxiyut: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.

huxlem: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

huxlyem: Orphan.

K'uat'hila'yaltus: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

Kue·uls: Smith Inlet.

Kuelaut'lis: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

kue·kuse·s: Merganser. [825]

Kuelsemaslut: Merganser canoe acquired by the first settlers at *Staxs.* [763]

kuelsus: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death.

Kuelxis: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Kuelxlxus: *Kuxiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Kuele·tsemut: *Kuxiut* name of a male Green Bay Cannibal.

kuel·ie·l: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [823]

kuels: Evergreen bough. [824]

Kuelstul: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

kuequai: One of the sculpins.

Kuesta: *Kuxiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

Kuet·inal·a, "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

Kuetlaxlus: Man who came to earth near *Staxs* in the beginning of time.

Kue·tsus: Kimsquit woman.

Kuilxis: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Kuilxus: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

Kuinas: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

Kuiltalxis, "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Kuks: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxalxt* chief; the word is a synonym for *Wi'tsuse·ilmula.*

Kulilas Nuxlxaeps: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

kulsemtlhlta·ais: Lullaby. [533]

kumi·yais: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

kuilis: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]
2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

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numas, tsetsiw, numastas: Member of same sex and same ancestral family as speaker. [601]

Numaxlum: Supernatural being who comes with *Nusk!umum* to bring a call to the latter's protégé. [614]

Numelshmut: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

numit: 1—A passage, especially the digestive tract. [826]
2—Laudatory adjective applied to chiefs, referring to goods distributed.

numismaxlis: Toilet-hole.

numlutsum: Recompense, virtually pay, given to carpenters and other craftsmen at a mourning ceremony. [465]

numsalomtmas: Exchange marriage. [583]

numpalultmus: Passenger.

Nu'mtz: Place near *Nuliwa.*

Numtsmalaix: *Kusiut* name created by *ɬɛmɬɛmɬɛm* at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

numuusi di mana: Half-brother or sister with different mother from speaker. [601]

numuusi ixi atana: Half-brother or sister with different father from speaker.

Nunaaso'as, "The Inhospitable One": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

Nunaxmunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunaxjiyum: Supernatural being who created repositories in the beginning of time.

Nunaxunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunaxyaxm: House occupied by the first settlers at *Natsyuk* in the beginning of time.

nunaxʷ'atimut: The use of potent medicines after seeing a giant toad.

nunaxwaxtsum or *nunaxwaxtsimut:* 1—The giving of hemlock-bark and dyed cedar-bark to *Tlixaqiltsa.* [782]
2—The making of offerings to ghosts by the casting of food on a fire. [775]

Nunaxwunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunanaxkilimut: Male supernatural being who travels with *Nusk!umum,* takes charge of the singers who also accompany him, and sometimes dances happily.

Nunaxsta: Mother Nature.

nunapy: Fisherman with inherited right to use of a salmon-weir or of a place for catching olachen. [424]

nunapumaxmly, "A Calling Back", or "A Seizing": Term applied to the death of a chief in the belief that it is due to the supernatural artisans having come down to carry him off. The word is often added to their designation. [226] [761]

Nunaxmals, "Where Water Entered": House of one of the first groups of settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

Nunaqualaiats: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunaqaxlalaiqua-a: Professional name of a female drumer.

Nunaqaxtsmus: Supernatural being; this is probably a synonym for one of the Carpenters.

Nunaxhmai: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

Nunaxmunk: One of the four supernatural eagle-like creatures.

Nunaxsumalak: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

Nunatlhentmus, "The One that Penetrates to the Head of the Rivers": Supernatural name of sockeye salmon. [825]

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amtlaxlaxs: Goods obtained by a man's own exertions and forming the nucleus of his wealth for a potlatch. [556]

amtuts, *plural*, **qlamatuts**: *Kusiut* patron.

G'miat: Kimaquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

G'miaths: One of the first women to settle at *Stuxa* in the beginning of time.

G'miatmas: Son of Raven in the beginning of time.

Gmgamkilda: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Skekuil* in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the Kimaquit River in the beginning of time.
4—*Tsimait* woman who died about 1915.

'Gmilem: *atsmq* village.

Gmpt: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola *hamatsa* dancer.

Gnekuil: 1—Ancestral name of a *Sk!ulish* man.
2—Celebrated Kimaquit hunter.

'gnekuil: Any non-sacred rite, especially an *o'alt* dance held subsequent to the *hamat* season.

Gnixwalixus: *Kusiut* name of a Kimaquit *hamatsa* dancer.

Gnqmuk: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

gnxalkstumm: The taking of food to another tribe for ceremonious bestowal.

Gnxixtoma: Supernatural being who sleeps perpetually, literally, "The Sleepy One."

Gqmxkmy: 1—Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.
2—Celebrated Bella Coola warrior.

o'gok: Skunk cabbage. [824]

Gqoloxts: Supernatural being, herald of *Sqvaxtm*.

gqpa: The steeping of *nusuk* novices in smoke, this being the final rite of initiation.

Gqmai: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nuxkaist* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Skekuil* in the beginning of time.

gqla: Temporary fish-dam of interlocked branches. [226]

Gqnaw-i: Small mountain on south side of the Bella Coola valley behind *Lomqo-ts*.

G-qoi: Place near *Stuxa*.

'Gqmokkkmut: One of the first men to settle at *Xwiyai* in the beginning of time.

qlaxkmut': The leading across of a bride to a groom during a wedding. [585]

qxalaxlem: Hereditary tendency.

qxkaken: One made sick by salmon, especially a woman who suffers from this cause through disregard of adolescence taboos. [827]

qxipas: Variety of dog salmon found at Bella Bella. [784]

q-xmxlqlaxmxis: Conferring of ancestral names at a potlatch.

qxnkemxmxis: The performance of a *hamat* dance with supernatural dog salmon as patron. [825]

Gxxqlqmq, "Tragion Place": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

exqalem: Distribution of strips of mountain goat skin at marriage. [585]

exmxmxks: "Where are you going?"

Gxwakkq', "Lake-Swallower": A mythical monster.

exlwaillxis: First night of a potlatch. [601]

elixt: Third eldest brother or sister.

Oktaqa: Name of Mink as chief.

O-lixt di Stalkmq: One of the names of the supreme god.

Olowa: Celebrated *Wawa'a* warrior.

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sa·qwa·t: String figure.
Saskwanuts: Harbour on east side of King Island.
[227] *sdjidji'is:* Movable box-like container which can be raised at a salmon-weir.
Sekakmān·a: 1—Supernatural herring woman, or perhaps herring head.
2—Carrier murderer living in the last century.
[823] *sekilāxt:* Rock crystal used in *kusiut* initiation rites.
[822] *sekima siāhamkek:* River net for salmon.
Setsalānl: Echo.
Sexsexēlaix: Supernatural being who advises the supreme god.
Sexsexqwalxelaoslaix, "The Strengthener of the Breathing": One of *Tlitcāplilān·a's* names, and hence a designation given to shamans.
[805] *Siālxelāx:* Ancestral name created on earth by a *Qomqo·ts* man.
Siaqam, "When Herrings Spawn": Third moon after the winter solstice.
[825] *sidāxsu:* One of the river sculpins, the so-called cat-fish.
[805] *Sidakaos di Ano°likwolsaix,* "The Coming of *Ano°likwolsaix*": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.
sintslo: Servants; the term is used to describe the relationship of the supernatural beings to the supreme god.
[805] *Si'ishilil,* "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon": Second moon after the summer solstice.
Si'iswāi·stl, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon": Third moon after the summer solstice.
[584] *si'illiukek:* Presents, given unostentatiously, at the time when a proposal of marriage is broached.
[431] *si'igikam,* "The Ability to Walk": Strength or stability as obtained for children by the repurchase of their mother from their father.
[583] *Sisnt,* "Sits Down": Moon of the winter solstice.
[805] *Sisāmi,* "Time for Eating Spring Salmon": Moon of the summer solstice.
Sisālamtak, "Time When Sockeye Salmon Ascend the Rivers": First moon after the summer solstice.
[104] *siki,* "One who Cures": Functionary who protects novices at *kusiut* and *ssaok* rites.
Sikilikimm: Evil supernatural being who acts as executioner for his fellows in the land above.
[805] *Sikuly,* "Time for Making Salmon-Weirs": Fourth moon after the winter solstice.
Sikwalxwlekx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Sikwuldjut: Ancestral name of a *Stuix* man.
Siknm: Chief of mythical house in the sky.
[226] *Silias:* Celebrated composer.
[827] *siltmaq:* Salmon-weir.
sinaxqmē'ax: *Ssaok* head-dress.
[761] *sininits:* Breath, or power of being alive, an element in the human body.
si·nipodjoxstmax: Hide-and-seek as played by two boys.
[805] *Simptcus:* Man led astray by a supernatural being in the beginning of time.
[726] *Sinomwak,* "Time for the Use of Olachen Hand-Nets": Fifth moon after the winter solstice.
Sinulkemitl, "Where It Spoke": Outpost near mouth of the Kwatna River, occupied to give warning in times of danger.
Sinunukalāhm: Benign supernatural being who causes Cannibals to return from the land above.

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Wat·a: *Xɛɛais* woman living in the beginning of time.
wals: Dog.
wawats: Dog, *archaic.*
wa·xsia: Cape of yellow cedar-bark.
waxwaxtsia: Brother or sister of grandparent.
Wiakai: One of the first women to settle at *Snaiɬɬ* in the beginning of time.
Wiaqaii: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Tăl·io* in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Staax* in the beginning of time.
Wikwan·ɛkwla: Synonym for *Kwɛla*: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *Nuxɬalst* chief.
Wikwanuɬ: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
wina, wocatise, winae: War-party.
Winăs: Slave living at *Nuxɬalst* several generations ago.
winăs di qaḷa, "War-Party of the Ocean," or ***winăs di xa·ɬdjo·ts,*** "War-Party of the Tides": Supernatural being.
Winwina: Supernatural being who captured birds and fish for the benefit of mankind.
Winwinkmak: Supernatural being, perhaps identified with one of the warm winds.
winxta: Assistance rendered by the inhabitants of a town to a neighbouring settlement being attacked.
Wipitpawaklas: Bella Bella chief living in the beginning of time.
Wiwmkilak: *Smoaa*'s daughter-in-law in the beginning of time.
Wi'xlas: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit man.
Wiɬɬks: *Sisaok* name of a Kimsquit man.
Wixat: Man who travelled to the Skeena River in the beginning of time.
Wixeu: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
wi·a: *Kusiut* dance in which the nine supernatural siblings are summoned to earth.
Wiɬx: One of the first women to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.
Wilx: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
wɬx: Cripple.

X

Xaiaqɬaɬ: Ancestral name of a *Tăl·io* man.
Xaiɬs: Stream entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuɬkwa.*
Xai·ɬɛl: Continuous North Wind, anthropomorphized.
xaɬ'laɬ·: Cry raised as each of the first spring salmon is brought ashore.
Xɬaiya: Step-daughter of Raven in the beginning of time.
xaqɛnts: Great blue heron.
Xɛɛ: Designation of a tribe, probably a branch of the Carriers, dwelling far to the south-east of the Bella Coola.
xiɛxɛ': Canada goose.
xɬa·a: Root of *qăymăɬs,* an unidentified plant.
Xɬɛlus: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola Cannibal.
Xɬɛwɛtaw·a: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Xɬɛlmai: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman.
xem: The successive rising of the sun from day to day. This word, which is common in derivatives, appears usually to be pronounced *yem* after *i.*
Xemena: 1—One of the nine supernatural siblings.
2—One of the first men to settle on the Dean River in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle at *Snaiɬɬ* in the beginning of time.